2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

231 cattle. In many cases the "herd" of a *Kinyaleŋgai* elder may total only three or four head, but a few of them are better off.

101 197 The *Kinyaleŋgai* are now almost indistinguishable from the Lumbwa, and are agreed by all to be merely impoverished Lumbwa, who took to a bush life for the same reasons and probably about the same time as the *Baleŋga*. They are good bushmen even to the present day, but are not born to the bush life and will not live in the bush of choice. A *Kinyaleŋgai* elder of the 'L-aimer age[1] named Mwanamsunde lives at Mtambalo on the Handeni-Masai border. He is one of the [888] oldest men in Masailand, but has little or no influence though he is termed *Ol-aigwenani*[2] by courtesy. He speaks no language except Masai with a marked Kwavi intonation.

101 I have not written much about either the *Baleŋga* or the *Kinyaleŋgai*, as I am convinced that the former are Masai and the latter 'l-Oikop. If this is not the case, I am unable to put forward an alternative theory, as my inquiries have been diligent and I have been forced to the conclusion above stated. It may be argued, therefore, that the *Baleŋga* and the *Kinyaleŋgai* are not Dorobo in the true sense of the word. In this I agree, if it be postulated that the Dorobo is a man apart and not of Masai origin. It seems to me very likely that the *Baleŋga* and their Kwavi contemporaries followed, through force of circumstances, the only mode of life which promised to keep them from starvation. In following this bush life they had before them the example of the people with whom it is now proposed to deal, and who have a much greater claim to be called Dorobo.

Il-Méoire ; Il-Méliak ; Il-Kisankasa

The three names given above would seem to denote one and the same type of Dorobo. I have been unable to discover any difference between them. Curiously enough, although I have met many *Méoire* and *Méliak* I have, so far, failed to come across an individual calling himself *Kisankasa*. I am inclined to think that the name is merely an alternative for one or both of the others. It is possible that these names may denote

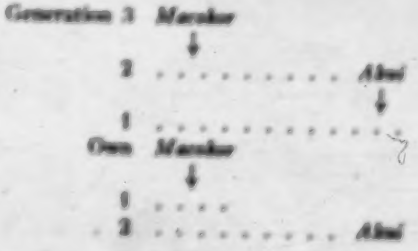
[1] Circumcision of 1872 approximately, according to Hollis.
[2] Spokesman or Councillor.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

593 [888] course. They live in the same settlement, they are *papa* to each other's children, they both look after old Kipkatam, and they have the joint responsibility of feeding him as well as their own families. They are *hesenda* in name and in fact. But the existence of a remoter *hesenda* group, the children [605] of the mother's sister, shows how the term may mislead if the circumstances are not known and if it is not realized how much depends on proximity. Both their mother's sister's sons Kikoror and Tote live on the other side of the country at Ngatepkong, and Kikoror moreover dwells inside the forest; between them and Pilo intercourse is rare, and relationship might not exist. In practice, of course, Pilo would refer to them as *hesendaanyon* and would greet them as *hesenda* or by name; but in the absence of proximity the intercourse would be limited to mere greeting.

608 The *akui* group includes three sets of people: (A) parents of father and mother; (B) father's father's brother and sister and their children; and (C) all of the second descending generation except the great grandchildren of the mother's brother and sister.

603 601 (A) The senior *akui* at the time when I collected the genealogies which form the basis of this study were all dead. The real *akui* are the father's father and the mother's father (their wives being *kuko*), and these two are often referred to as *kuko* as well as *akui*. When Pilo said, "My *akui* was Kimngamngam", or "my *akui* was Mereua", his statement was amplified by saying who they were: *akui ko papa nepo papa, kuko ko papa nepo eiyo*, "*akui* is the father of my father, *kuko* is the father of my mother". (B) But the brother's and sisters of the *kuko* or *kuko* (none were recorded on the maternal side) are referred to as *akui* by courtesy, and this courtesy is extended to their children (people of father's generation) but not to lower generations. So Arap Lemando was merely *loiye* or "Arap Lemando" to Pilo, though his father and grandfather were *akui*; and between Pilo and Arap Lemando there was no relationship. (C) The third descending generation, the children of Pilo, his brother's children, his sister's children, and those of his father's brother, and his father's sister, are all *akui* also; but no descendant of the mother's brother or sister is called *akui*. This term, it will be seen, has a symmetrical alternation from the second ascending to the second descending generation, that is, from grandfather to grandson; *marakw* has an asymmetrical alternation from the third ascending generation to own's own, being extended in both cases to the next generation below:



4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

payment and a man has but few live stock) have induced a real affection of husband for wife, and a rarity of divorce. This is reflected in the husband's behaviour to his wife, and in the absence of the custom found among the Nandi of letting a wife sleep with a visiting age-mate. A wife being a necessity once she has been got, a man tends to do all he can to keep her, and he treats her well, with such kindness and consideration as can be shown to an inferior, giving her all the inducements to a contented life that are within his power. Although a man may be somewhat aloof when he is at home, his general attitude and behaviour to his wife form a good example for his sons to copy.

Children then grow up under the authority of two people who are more important to them than anyone else in the horde, their father and mother. The father has authority over his wife because he provides food for her and her children by his own skill, and a primitive woman cannot exist without the support of a man; in the old days a bad wife had nowhere to go if her husband brought himself to the pitch of divorcing her, except back to her parents, who would not welcome an extra mouth to feed. Over his children a man has that authority which is based on the respect felt for a person whom they know must be obeyed. Incidents of the kind that I saw one day at the home of a man named Cesundil are not uncommon. A child was yelling outside the hut. Taprandic the mother told it to be quiet: it merely yelled louder. Cesundil then said quietly but firmly, *Sis lakuanni* (be quiet, child), and it was silent immediately.

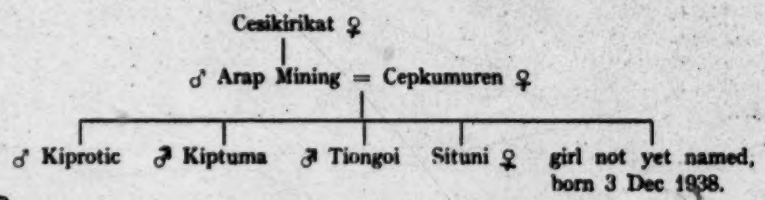
As EVANS-PRITCHARD has pointed out, the behaviour of father to mother must influence the attitude of a son to his mother[11]. It is the mother and other women who look after a child till nearly the age of puberty; and to-day as in the past, though the father is no longer wholly occupied in hunting and therefore much more at home, the traditional pattern still holds good. I have more than once seen a man left in charge of his small children while the mother was away and treating them in the fussy sort of way that one would expect of a man not very sure of his ground — sure of his authority, which was not being called in question, but not at all sure of his ability to deal with childish problems which the mother on her return can settle at once. It is the mother who gives the children immediate comfort and protection; she it is who teaches them the elementary rules of conduct and decency, who impresses upon them that they must obey father, because he is father, and who sees that as they grow older they help her with such small tasks as they can manage. It is to their mother that children run when hurt or frightened, and it is by her that they are nursed when ill. She thus has a large claim on their affection, but this would be reduced if they saw her disrespectfully treated by their father. On the whole, the claim is reinforced among the Dorobo by the way men treat their wives. And in old age a mother is taken care of by her son, and whereas she brought him up in his infancy, so now in her old age she

[11] Man, 1929, 148.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

888 helps his wife to bring up his children, continuing her claim on him in affection which outlasts childhood into old age.

596 My chief friend and informant among the Dorobo, Kimopo arap Mining, lived, during the period of my field-work, at Kipukua, with his mother Cesikirikat, and his family consisted of the following:



[342] [361] In July 1938 he was living in a flat-topped hut in the middle of his section of the settlement; but by December of the same year he had moved to a new hut with a pointed roof outside the *shamba*. His mother's hut was about 300 yards away at the other end of the *shamba*. His three boys (all *Juma* age-set, he himself being a *Nyongi*) ranged from about four years old upwards, and Situni, the elder girl, was about seven. At this time he [513] [231] slept in the back part of the hut, the *incor*, where his goats are kept at night, and his wife slept with the children in the front part, the *koima*. This was because she was suckling a baby. Strictly, Arap Mining should have gone to sleep in another hut, but since this was not possible for several reasons, the wall dividing the *incor* from the *koima* was allowed to make the *incor* count as a separate hut (the original type of Dorobo hut has no partition at all).

855 One day I arrived rather early and found that Cepkumuren had gone across the valley to get a new water-pot, leaving Arap Mining in charge of the children. Situni looked after the baby, but still he found his responsibilities rather a heavy burden, and was glad when his wife returned a little before noon. Cepkumuren fed the baby, sent the children indoors to rest, and went down to the river to wash. At this hour, when there is no particular work to be done, the older people sleep. On some days Cesikirikat comes to Arap Mining's *shamba* to help with the cultivation: Cepkumuren [541] normally works there too, but not every day while the baby is so young. When she does go, Arap Mining goes with her, and the baby is left with Situni. But the *shamba* is not so far away that Cepkumuren cannot hear the children if anything goes wrong.

855 604 The Dorobo elementary family might thus seem to be independent and self-contained. But it is not so really, and other relatives have a share in the upbringing of the children, not in spite of the parents' authority, but in support of it, and the relative who must be considered next to the parents from the Dorobo point of view is the father's brother, *papa*, who often lives in the same settlement, or if not, only a short distance away. This person, especially when he is an elder brother, has a position of authority over his brother's children at least equal to that of their father. His wife, a classi-

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

normally go elsewhere for the night, leaving the hut to the men. In the matter of hospitality, relationship by blood, marriage, or clan is a deciding factor in the length of time for which a man may expect to be put up by his host. Thus, no matter what the age-set situation may be, a man who is neither a relative nor a clansman cannot claim more than two nights' hospitality on account of necessity, and will not be given honey-wine; while a relative or clansman may be fed for a week or even longer, and the host will give him honey-wine if he has any.

3. Behaviour

A brief summary of the modes of behaviour towards important relatives was given by a Dorobo in the following words: *Makicupe papa ne kosica a kopire lakuet*; *makicupe kokeny papa*; *makimuoci korket ok eiyo ualek ce somis, amu ya, ngut ualek ap kumisiet*; *kiurerencinkei tukul*. ("A man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we all play together, i. e. we are on terms of friendliness and 'clean fun'.") Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother and men of senior age-sets.

It is unlikely that any Dorobo ever sees his father's father's father, and the father's father is seen only by small children. The father's father is regarded much as one's own father. But the father's mother helps in the care of the children, and so becomes an object not only of familiarity but of affection as well to the children. To all of the father's generation a man should show respect and obedience. He must not insult them, nor use unsuitable language in their presence. Corporal punishment may be inflicted on a rude or disobedient child with the hand or with a stick, by father, mother, and father's brother. Verbal correction is also a common method of dealing with naughty children, and though a man would not as a rule say to a naughty child who had made him angry anything as drastic as *Amin celolei* (may you die of dysentery), in case the spirit-world took him at his word, he might go as far as *Iam piat* (eat dirt), an expression which if used by a child to a senior would certainly earn a beating.

Most Dorobo are fond of their parents, and treat them in old age with much kindness and consideration. Wherever I found aged parents living with their sons it was the same; and the more helpless the parent, the greater the trouble taken to make them comfortable. The old father of Pilo, to whom I have already referred, was such a one. Bent double, hardly able to move without help, he spent his time lying outside in the sun when it was warm, and indoors beside the fire when it was cold. He had to be helped in and out, and fed and looked after like a child; but it was all done cheerfully by Coimim and his wife, in whose hut the old man lived, and if they could not attend to him, Pilo and his wife did.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

kopotok. Kiinde tapot kut korurio. Peni-e ekosiek ee can si korurio 273
as-well. It-is-put-in the-loft till it-ripens. It-remains the-days many that it-may-
kut koiek maiyak. Kiie.
ripen till it-becomes the-drink. (Then) we-drink.

(Some seed-pods are boiled so that they can be split; they are washed in the river to remove any dirt sticking to them, and then when they have become quite soft, they are put in the sun to dry. The dried strips are next put into a pot containing honey and nothing else, to make it bitter, i. e. to ferment it, and some water is added. The mixture is put in the loft to ferment. It is left for several days till it is ready and can be drunk. Then we drink it.)

Another drink called *lokomek*, or honey-and-water, is also a favourite of the Dorobo; it is not intoxicating and is much simpler to prepare than honey-wine, being simply honey and water mixed together, without the addition of seed-pods, and drunk the same day without any fermentation. 272

In the old days, the Dorobo say, they were seldom absolutely without food, for meat could generally be got with either bow or trap, and unless a man was ill or away, when someone would help his family with food, he could usually get enough to feed them. This is probably true, for in those days game was plentiful enough, and there were no Europeans to restrict their hunting activities. Nowadays, when hunting is curtailed, and reduced to little more than trapping, there is an uncertainty about the food supply which even the introduction of agriculture and the nearness of European farms does not altogether remove. A man may be just unlucky with his trapping: European influence, as "harmful magic", is blamed for this; and his crop may be a small one, or much damaged by vermin. And although one member of a family may even be a wage-earner on a neighbouring farm and get a daily ration of 2 lbs. of maize meal when he works, he has to feed not only himself but his own family and perhaps others. For instance, a man of my acquaintance named Arap Keter had to feed his wife, his child, his sister, and his mother, as well as himself. Arap Ruto, one of his neighbours, who also worked on a farm, had at times to feed his brother Arap Minin, his wife, his four children, and his mother. Two pounds of meal a day do not go far to eke out a small crop and the produce of the traps and honey-barrels when divided among eight people in a bad season. Shortages are remedied as far as possible by the principle of sharing, and a man who has food left over after feeding his own family must, and does, help to feed certain others if need be. Arap Ruto, as we have just seen, has had to feed seven people besides himself at times; but in the past the normal rule of food distribution was that a man provided meat for his wife and children, for his parents, and sometimes his wife's parents, since the old people, as always, depend on what their sons and sons-in-law can give them. A successful hunter also shared his kill with those who went with him and were unlucky. The distribution of meat was thus as follows:

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224
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Hunter
1. Own family.
2. Own parents.
3. Wife's parents.
4. Fellow hunters.

/247 cont./

278 562 834 [888] arrows, not in the hut, but hung on a tree not far from the camp. Only in rainy weather do they bring the things into the kraal and keep them there in the hut of an old woman who herself, in their view, can no longer come into consideration in the above respect. They even make themselves responsible, relative to the intensity of the sexual intercourse, for the slow dying of the animal struck by the poisoned arrow. The poison is smeared on the arrow point with a wooden spatula, and, in order to protect the dried substance from crumbling or from dissolving in damp weather (since it is very hygroscopic), it is wrapped with a strip of thin antelope skin that is dehaired and made soft by being rubbed with fat. The poison acts very quickly, and, to be sure, by suddenly stopping the heart activity. In the case of a genet shot in the abdomen, breathing difficulty set in after five minutes, along with rapid movements of the nostrils and violent, cramplike muscle twitchings of the body and limbs. With brief interruptions of a quarter to a third of a minute the symptoms were repeated and increased in intensity. The pupils dilated to a circle. Nine minutes and 18 seconds after the shot the pupils, up to then blue-black, suddenly became sea-green, and, with violent twitching, death came. With quite fresh poison death is supposed to come in even a shorter time. In the steppe the poison is tested by shooting an antelope with an arrow newly poisoned. If on the trail of the fleeing animal one finds fresh urine and excrement, the poison is regarded as acting too weakly. Good poison put in the foot of a live turtle must lead to its death before it has crawled five or six steps away. Neither the Asá nor the Wandorobo are acquainted with a physiological antidote. For smaller, simple, and penetrating flesh wounds immediate washing with fresh urine is supposed to help. Aged Wandorobo often showed me scars on their own bodies, especially on arms and legs, which are supposed to have been caused by shots with poisoned arrows two to four centimeters deep. Both the appearance of the scars and the corresponding statements of people, which were separated in time and place from the former, corroborate this information.

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